

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----017659 271859Z /43  
O 271522Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 179

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 11124

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY AND SAUNDERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PGOV PBOR IS EG XF  
SUBJ: TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS OF ISRAELI PEACE PROPOSALS TO  
PRESIDENT SADAT

REF.: TEL AVIV 11123

1. AS INDICATED REFTEL, PRIME MINISTER BEGIN ASKED ME THIS MORNING TO TRANSMIT FOR HIM, VIA AMBASSADOR EILTS TO PRESIDENT SADAT, THE TWO DOCUMENTS CONTAINING THE ISRAELI PEACE PROPOSALS. HE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD GIVEN THESE PROPOSALS ORALLY TO PRESIDENT SADAT AND HIS ADVISERS ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON AT ISMAILIA, BUT HAD NOT LEFT COPIES OF THE DOCUMENTS WITH THE EGYPTIANS. HE TOLD SADAT THEY WOULD BE TRANSMITTED THROUGH OUR GOOD OFFICES AS SOON AS HE RETURNED TO JERUSALEM. (I AM AT SOMEWHAT OF A LOSS TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE ISRAELIS DECIDED TO HANDLE THIS IN SUCH A FASHION.) I ASSUME THAT WASHINGTON WILL CONCUR WITH AMBASSADOR EILTS TRANSMITTING THESE TWO DOCUMENTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO PRESIDENT SADAT. DOCUMENTS CARRY ISRAELI CLASSIFICATION OF "TOP SECRET."

2. FIRST DOCUMENTS IS DATED DECEMBER 24, 1977, AND  
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ENTITLED "PROPOSAL FOR A PEACE TREATY BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL." TEXT FOLLOWS:

(1) THE IDEAS PRESENTED IN THIS PROPOSAL ARE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT A PEACE TREATY IS TO BE CONCLUDED WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT THE COMPLETE NORMALIZATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL, INCLUDING THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

(2) IN JERUSALEM THE PRESIDENT SAID, INTER ALIA,  
TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

A. THAT IT IS HIS INTENTION TO DECLARE THE  
STRAITS OF TIRAN TO BE AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY;

B. THAT THE EGYPTIAN ARMY WILL NOT MOVE  
EASTWARDS OF THE MITLA AND GIDDI PASSES AND THAT THE  
WHOLE AREA EAST OF THE PASSES WILL BE DEMILITARIZED.

(2) OUR SUGGESTIONS ARE:

A. ISRAEL WILL WITHDRAW ITS FORCES TO THE  
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY BETWEEN PALESTINE (OF THE  
MANDATE PERIOD) AND EGYPT, IN TWO PHASES:

1. PHASE A: WITHDRAWAL TO THE LINE,  
EL-ARISH - RASS-MUHAMMAD, EAST OF EL-ARISH AND WEST  
OF RASS-MUHAMMAD.

2. PHASE B: WITHDRAWAL TO THE AFORESAID  
BOUNDARY. THIS PHASE WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN 3-5 YEARS  
FROM THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE TREATY.

B. UPON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASE A THERE  
WILL REMAIN IN THE AREA BETWEEN THE LINE EL-ARISH -  
RASS-MUHAMMAD AND THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY:

1. THE AIRFIELDS: "ETZION", "EITAM" AND  
"OPHIRA".

2. THE EARLY-WARNING STATIONS AT JEBEL  
HILLAL AND JEBEL HARIM;

3. MOBILE LAND AND NAVAL IDF UNITS.

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C. UPON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASE B THE  
AREA BETWEEN THE LINE RASS-MUHAMMAD - EL-ARISH AND THE  
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY WILL BE DEMILITARIZED UNDER THE  
SUPERVISION OF A UN FORCE UNDER THE UN FLAG. THE ISRAELI  
CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE UN ZONE WILL REMAIN IN PLACE  
AND WILL MAINTAIN A LOCAL DEFENSE FORCE. THEY WILL BE  
LINKED TO ISRAEL'S ADMINISTRATION AND COURTS. TWO OF  
THE THREE AIRFIELDS WILL BE TURNED INTO CIVILIAN INSTALLA-  
TIONS. THE THIRD WILL REMAIN A MILITARY AIRFIELD.  
THE CIVILIAN AIRFIELDS WILL BE ADMINISTERED BY ISRAELI  
CIVILIANS AND WILL BE PLACED UNDER UN SUPERVISION.

D. ISRAELI CIVILIANS, AS WELL AS ARAB  
RESIDENTS OF SINAI, WILL BE PERMITTED FREE ENTRY INTO  
THE UN ZONE.

E. THE DEPLOYMENT OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY FORCES  
IN THE AREA BETWEEN THE EAST BANK OF THE SUEZ CANAL  
AND THE MITLA AND GIDDI LINE WILL CONTINUE TO BE IN  
ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1975.

F. UN FORCES WILL NOT BE REMOVED FROM THE  
AFOREMENTIONED ZONE EXCEPT WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE  
TWO PARTIES, EGYPT AND ISRAEL, AND A UNANIMOUS DECISION  
OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL.

G. THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES WILL BE SUBJECT TO  
REVIEW IN THE YEAR 2001. END TEXT.

3. SECOND DOCUMENT IS DATED DECEMBER 23, 1977, AND IS  
ENTITLED "SELF-RULE FOR PALESTINIAN ARABS, RESIDENTS OF  
JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT, WHICH WILL BE  
INSTITUTED UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE." TEXT FOLLOWS:

(1) THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT  
IN JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WILL BE ABOLISHED.

(2) IN JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT  
ADMINISTRATIVE AUTONOMY OF THE RESIDENTS, BY AND FOR THEM,  
WILL BE ESTABLISHED.

(3) THE RESIDENTS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA  
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DISTRICT WILL ELECT AN ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL COMPOSED  
OF ELEVEN MEMBERS. THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL  
OPERATE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN  
IN THIS PAPER.

(4) ANY RESIDENT, 18 YEARS-OLD AND ABOVE, WITHOUT  
DISTINCTION OF CITIZENSHIP, OR IF STATELESS, IS ENTITLED  
TO VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

(5) ANY RESIDENT WHOSE NAME IS INCLUDED IN THE  
LIST OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL  
AND WHO, ON THE DAY THE LIST IS SUBMITTED, IS 25 YEARS-OLD  
OR ABOVE, IS ENTITLED TO BE ELECTED TO THE COUNCIL.

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 180

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 11124

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY AND SAUNDERS FROM AMBASSADOR

(6) THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL BE ELECTED BY GENERAL, DIRECT PERSONAL, EQUAL AND SECRET BALLOT.

(7) THE PERIOD OF OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL BE FOUR YEARS FROM THE DAY OF ITS ELECTION.

(8) THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL SIT IN BETHLEHEM.

(9) ALL THE ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS RELATING TO THE ARAB RESIDENTS OF THE AREAS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT, WILL BE UNDER THE DIRECTION AND WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

(10) THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL OPERATE THE FOLLOWING DEPARTMENTS:

- A. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION;
- B. THE DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS;
- C. THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE;
- D. THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION;
- E. THE DEPARTMENT OF CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSING;
- F. THE DEPARTMENT FOR INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND

TOURISM;

- G. THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE;
- H. THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH;
- I. THE DEPARTMENT FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL WELFARE;
- J. THE DEPARTMENT FOR REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES;

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K. THE DEPARTMENT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND THE SUPERVISION OF THE LOCAL POLICE FORCES;

AND PROMULGATE REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE OPERATION OF THESE DEPARTMENTS.

(11) SECURITY AND PUBLIC ORDER IN THE AREAS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WILL BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES.

(12) THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL ELECT ITS OWN CHAIRMAN.

(13) THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL BE CONVENED 30 DAYS AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF THE ELECTION RESULTS.

(14) RESIDENTS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT, WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF CITIZENSHIP, OR IF STATELESS, WILL BE GRANTED FREE CHOICE (OPTION) OF EITHER ISRAELI OR JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP.

(15) A RESIDENT OF THE AREAS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WHO REQUESTS ISRAELI CITIZENSHIP WILL BE GRANTED SUCH CITIZENSHIP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CITIZENSHIP LAW OF THE STATE.

(16) RESIDENTS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA

DISTRICT WHO, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RIGHT OF FREE OPTION, CHOOSE ISRAELI CITIZENSHIP, WILL BE ENTITLED TO VOTE FOR, AND BE ELECTED TO THE KNESSET IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ELECTION LAW.

(17) RESIDENTS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WHO ARE CITIZENS OF JORDAN OR WHO, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RIGHT OF FREE OPTION WILL BECOME CITIZENS OF JORDAN, WILL ELECT AND BE ELIGIBLE FOR ELECTION TO PARLIAMENT OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ELECTION LAW OF THAT COUNTRY.

(18) QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE VOTE TO THE  
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JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT BY RESIDENTS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WILL BE CLARIFIED IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN.

(19) A COMMITTEE WILL BE ESTABLISHED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ISRAEL, JORDAN AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL TO EXAMINE EXISTING LEGISLATION IN JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT, AND TO DETERMINE WHICH LEGISLATION WILL CONTINUE IN FORCE, WHICH WILL BE ABOLISHED, AND WHAT WILL BE THE COMPETENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL TO PROMULGATE REGULATIONS. THE RULINGS OF THE COMMITTEE WILL BE ADOPTED BY UNANIMOUS DECISION.

(20) RESIDENTS OF ISRAEL WILL BE ENTITLED TO ACQUIRE LAND AND SETTLE IN THE AREAS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT. ARABS, RESIDENTS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WHO, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FREE OPTION GRANTED THEM, WILL BECOME ISRAELI CITIZENS, WILL BE ENTITLED TO ACQUIRE LAND AND SETTLE IN ISRAEL.

(21) A COMMITTEE WILL BE ESTABLISHED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ISRAEL, JORDAN AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL TO DETERMINE NORMS OF IMMIGRATION TO THE AREAS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT. THE COMMITTEE WILL DETERMINE THE NORMS WHEREBY ARAB REFUGEES RESIDING OUTSIDE JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WILL BE PERMITTED TO IMMIGRATE TO THESE AREAS IN REASONABLE NUMBERS. THE RULINGS OF THE COMMITTEE WILL BE ADOPTED BY UNANIMOUS DECISION.

(22) RESIDENTS OF ISRAEL AND RESIDENTS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT WILL BE ASSURED FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND FREEDOM OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN ISRAEL, JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT.

(23) THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL APPOINT ONE OF ITS MEMBERS TO REPRESENT THE COUNCIL BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL FOR DELIBERATION ON MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST; AND ONE OF ITS MEMBERS TO REPRESENT  
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THE COUNCIL BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN FOR  
DELIBERATION ON MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST.

(24) ISRAEL STANDS BY ITS RIGHT AND ITS CLAIM  
OF SOVEREIGNTY TO JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA DISTRICT.  
IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT OTHER CLAIMS EXIST, IT PROPOSES,  
FOR THE SAKE OF THE AGREEMENT AND THE PEACE, THAT THE  
QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THESE AREAS BE LEFT OPEN.

(25) WITH REGARD TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE  
HOLY PLACES OF THE THREE RELIGIONS IN JERUSALEM, A  
SPECIAL PROPOSAL WILL BE DRAWN UP AND SUBMITTED THAT  
WILL INCLUDE THE GUARANTEE OF FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO  
MEMBERS OF ALL THE FAITHS TO THE SHRINES HOLY TO THEM.

(26) THESE PRINCIPLES WILL BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW  
AFTER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD. END TEXT

4. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO CAIRO. LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
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